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FRANCE STRUGGLES UP AND OUT

Extracts from a Personal Letter Typical of Her Spirit

The following letter from a ravaged region of France, written by the wife of one of the leading mine-owners, is interesting and illuminating. The writer begins by telling of domestic troubles due to underfeeding, illness, etc. She then goes on to say:

"We are here for the summer, and I am striving to build a wall between them [Her children.—Ed.] and death. I seem to gain a little ground lately, but not much, and my own strength is failing fast. I never went to bed for thirty-four days.

"And on the top of that there have been many worries about the works and much to do. I must say that the whole of the population has showed me great sympathy. Every day hundreds of work people came to ask for news; public prayers have been made; offerings of flowers, fruit, pictures, cards, stamps, and toys were left at the gate; every consideration was shown, and, to crown it all, on the first day of May, when the strike was general everywhere in the region, none of our men left work. They said that they wanted to spare us all possible trouble during our time of trial; and when the child was worst a deputation was sent to the doctor to ask him to take great care of her for fear 'the little mother's heart would break.'

"I write this to show there is still a bond of affection between the upper and lower French classes, and that our men are not all the revolutionary brutes that foreign people often believe them to be. There is still a steady, strong, courageous, enduring mass of French people, and these are making a tremendous effort to save their country. They are working under odds so heavy that they cannot be described, and they put their faith solely in themselves.

"As I told you nearly a year and a half ago, we have been let down on all sides. We got laurels, clapping of hands, etc., but nearly no help. I won't speak here of the bitter disillusion we lived through; maybe our allies did not approve their governments, but the fact remains that we paid heaviest in men, in tears, in gold, in prosperity, and in faith in humanity. When sometimes we found ourselves alone in front of Germany, we knew that our boys must be soldiers as their fathers if there is to be a France left on the map. We frontier people are sure of what we say. Our German neighbors speak very loudly sometimes, especially since, as they say, 'the other nations are for them, against us.'

"However, we must do our best. The financial side of the question is the darkest point. The rate of exchange leads us to starvation, and the new taxes will be heavy on an impoverished nation. We try to reduce the imports and are eating black bread to save wheat; but coal we must have, and there England strangles us.

"Life is extremely hard. Lots of things are still missing; in our parts there is no milk for the babies, the Germans having taken and *kept* our cows; there is no linen, no furniture, the Germans having taken it all and *kept* it. People are sleeping on straw, the Germans having taken and *kept* all the bedding. And for everything it is the same.

"Add to that two-thirds of the population ill because of the bad treatments undergone, and you may have a pretty accurate opinion of our feelings when we are accused of 'oppressing and ruining poor, unfortunate, gentle, repentant Germany.'

"What I need are books, uniforms, sporting materials, and, above all, water and drains and cows. If ever you meet a philanthropist willing to give any kind of four-legged creature with milk powers, do not forget to send him to me.

"That and a way to make widowed women with young children earn a living would be a weight off my mind. So you see that in spite of private troubles there is a great deal of work to go through. In a way it helps, as one has no time to mope."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE TREATY

The League Endorsed—Mr. Bryan's Rejected Plan—The Candidate's Attitude

THE Democratic National Convention, in session in San Francisco from June 28 to July 6, naturally had much to say and do with the issue of treaty ratification and endorsement of the League. It assembled with a distinct, new call for action upon the issue, conveyed in a brief but vigorous message from President Wilson. The debate on the plank finally adopted was continuous, first in a subcommittee and then in a full committee of the convention headed by Senator Glass, of Virginia. Some of the suggestions that were championed by minorities in the convention we append. They never had much chance of being adopted, as the majority of the delegates favored a League of some kind and the Administration controlled the situation.

CHAIRMAN CUMMINGS' SPEECH

From the "keynote speech" of Hon. Homer S. Cummings, made June 28, which was a forceful and impassioned defense of the party's record in handling international affairs and of President Wilson's course during the war and since the armistice, the following quotation is made to show the temper of the address and its line of argument:

"The purpose of the League is to give notice that if any nation raises its menacing hand and seeks to cross the line into any other country the forces of civilization will be aroused to suppress the common enemy of peace. Therein lies the security of small nations and the safety of the world.

"Every war between nations that has ever been fought began in an attempt to seize foreign territory or to invade political independence. If in 1914 Germany had known that in the event of hostilities Great Britain would have entered the war, that France would go in, that Italy would go in, that Japan would go in, and that the United States would go in, there would have been no war.

"The opponents of the treaty cry out, 'Shall we send our boys abroad to settle a political quarrel in the Balkans?' Immediately the unthinking applaud and the orator records a momentary triumph. Have we forgotten that that is precisely what America already has done? Have we forgotten that we sent more than 2,000,000 men to France, spent more than \$20,000,000,000 and sacrificed nearly 100,000 lives to settle a Balkan dispute?

"There was a controversy between Serbia and Austria. Territorial questions, political rights, and boundary lines were involved. The Crown Prince of the House of Austria was assassinated. A little flame of war licked up into the powder-house of Europe, and in a moment the continent was in flames. It took all the power of civilization to put out the conflagration. How idle to inquire whether we wish to send our boys to settle political disputes in the Balkans!

Fear of Future Wars

"It is extraordinary that men should waste our time and vex our patience by suggesting the fear that we may be forced into future wars, while forgetting entirely that America was forced into this greatest of all wars. No League of Nations existed when we entered the war, and it was only when we formed in haste, in the midst of battle, a league of friendship, under unified command, that we were able to win this war. This association of nations, held together by a common purpose, fought the war to a victorious conclusion, dictated the terms of the armistice, and formulated the terms of peace. If such a result could be achieved

by an informal and temporary agreement, why should not the association be continued in a more definite and binding form? What plausible reason can be suggested for wasting the one great asset which has come out of the war? How else shall we provide for international arbitration? How else shall we provide for a permanent court of international justice? How else shall we provide for open diplomacy? How else shall we provide safety from external aggression? How else shall we provide for progressive disarmament? How else shall we check the spread of Bolshevism? How else shall industry be made safe and the basis of reconstruction established? How else shall society be steadied so that the processes of healing may serve their beneficent purpose? Until the critics of the league offer a better method of preserving the peace of the world they are not entitled to one moment's consideration in the forum of the conscience of mankind.

"Not only does the covenant guarantee justice for the future, but it holds the one remedy for the evils of the past. As it stands today, war is the one way in which America can express its sympathy for the oppressed of the world. The League of Nations removes the conventional shackles of diplomacy. Under the covenant it is our friendly right to protest against tyranny and to act as counsel for the weak nations now without an effective champion.

"The Republican platform contains a vague promise to establish another or a different form of association among nations, of a tenuous and shadowy character. Our proposed copartners in such a project are unnamed and unnamable. It is not stated whether it is proposed to invite the nations that have established the present league to dissolve it and to begin anew, or whether the purpose is to establish a new association of a competitive character, composed of the nations that repudiated the existing League. The devitalizing character of such an expedient requires no comment. Fatuous futility could be carried no further. There is no mental dishonesty more transparent than that which expresses fealty to a league of nations while opposing the only League of Nations that exists or is ever apt to exist. Why close our eyes to actual world conditions? A League of Nations already exists. It is not a project; it is a fact. We must either enter it or remain out of it."

SENATOR WALSH'S AMENDMENT

On July 1, in the resolutions committee, Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts, after a prolonged contest, succeeded in getting that body to adopt, by a vote of 32 to 18, a modification in the so-called Virginia "plank," to this effect: "But the Democratic party does not oppose the acceptance of any reservation making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League of Nations." His own proposition for the plank in the platform took the following form:

"The Democratic party favors a League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practical means of attaining and maintaining the permanent peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this end that America broke away from her traditional isolation and spent her blood and her treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest.

"It was upon this basis that the President of the United States in prearrangement with our Allies, consented to a cessation of hostilities against the Imperial German Government, and upon this basis that the armistice was granted and a treaty of peace negotiated.

To Congratulate President

"We not only congratulate the President on the vision manifested and the vigor exhibited in the prosecution of the war, but we felicitate to him and his associates in exceptional achievements at Paris involved in the adoption of a League and treaty so nearly akin to American ideals and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized people everywhere.

"We denounce any movement of any political party seek-

ing to make the ratification of the Versailles Treaty a political issue in the coming election. The drafting and ratification of international agreements and treaties should never be subject to partisan or political considerations.

"The Democratic party desires the ratification of the Versailles Treaty without nullifying changes, but it favors the acceptance of any reservation making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates, or which will make it more easily apparent to doubtful elements of our people that the covenant in no wise impairs or destroys the sovereignty of the United States."

SENATOR POMERENE'S PLANK

Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, who favored ratification of the treaty with reservations, when it was finally voted upon in the Senate, and who was not wholly in sympathy with the Administration forces in this convention, presented to the committee on resolutions the following plank, which was rejected:

"We advocate the prompt ratification of the Treaty of Peace without reservations which impair its essential integrity. We believe this is the best and most practical way to restore and maintain the peace of the world; but if such differences of opinion exist as to the form or substance of ratifications as to prevent such ratification, then we demand that they be so harmonized that the treaty may be ratified without unnecessary delay. This is the solemn duty we owe the country and humanity."

MR. BRYAN'S WAY OUT

Mr. William J. Bryan, who met with rebuffs, first in the resolutions committee and then in the open convention debate and whose advice, both as to platform and candidates, was rejected, offered the following proposed plank as his way out of the impasse within the party and the country:

"The Democratic party demands an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the ratification of treaties by a majority vote, so that it will be as easy to end a war as it is to declare war. Planting ourselves upon the most fundamental principle of popular government, namely, the right of people to rule, a doctrine in support of which we have recently spent over \$25,000,000,000, and for which we have sacrificed over 100,000 precious lives, we favor an immediate reconvening of the Senate that this principle may be applied to the treaty controversy, and ratification secured, with such reservations as a majority of the Senate shall agree upon reserving for the future, making such changes as we may deem necessary.

World Disarmament

"We favor appointment by the President, with the consent of the Senate, of delegates to represent this nation in the League until the regularly chosen delegates are elected and qualified.

"We favor the selection of the nation's delegates in the League of Nations by popular vote in districts in order that the people may speak through representatives of their own choice in the august tribunal which will consider the welfare of the world.

"These delegates should be instructed not to vote for war without specific instructions from Congress or from the people, given by referendum vote.

"Our nation's delegates should also be instructed to insist upon the disarmament of the world in order that the burden of militarism may be lifted from the shoulders of those who toil and the foundation of an enduring peace laid in friendship and co-operation."

THE LEAGUE ENDORSED AND PRESIDENT PRAISED

The plank dealing with the League, as it finally emerged from the resolutions committee and the debate in the convention, reads as follows:

"The Democratic party favors the League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practicable means of maintaining the permanent peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this that America broke away from traditional isolation and spent her blood and treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest. It was upon this basis that the President of the United States, in prearrangement with our Allies, consented to a suspension of hostilities against the Imperial German Government; the armistice was granted and a treaty of peace negotiated upon the definite assurance to Germany, as well as to the powers pitted against Germany that 'a general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.' Hence we not only congratulate the President on the vision manifested and the vigor exhibited in the prosecution of the war, but we felicitate him and his associates on the exceptional achievements at Paris involved in the adoption of a League and treaty so near akin to previously expressed American ideals and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized peoples everywhere.

"We commend the President for his courage and his high conception of good faith in steadfastly standing for the covenant agreed to by all the Associated and Allied nations at war with Germany, and we condemn the Republican Senate for its refusal to ratify the treaty merely because it was the product of Democratic statesmanship, thus interposing partisan envy and personal hatred in the way of the peace and renewed prosperity of the world.

"By every accepted standard of international morality the President is justified in asserting that the honor of the country is involved in this business; and we point to the accusing fact that before it was determined to initiate political antagonism to the treaty the now Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee himself publicly proclaimed that any proposition for a separate peace with Germany, such as he and his party associates thereafter reported to the Senate, would make us 'guilty of the blackest crime.'

Senator Lodge's Course

"On May 15 last the Knox substitute for the Versailles Treaty was passed by the Republican Senate, and this convention can contrive no more fitting characterization of its obloquy than that made in the *Forum Magazine* of December, 1918, by Henry Cabot Lodge, when he said:

"If we send our armies and young men abroad to be killed and wounded in northern France and Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify."

"The intent of Congress and the intent of the President was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur. We cannot make peace except in company with our allies. It would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace.

"Thus to that which Mr. Lodge, in saner moments, considered 'The Blackest Crime' he and his party in madness sought to give the sanctity of law; that which 18 months ago was of 'everlasting dishonor' the Republican party and its candidates today accept as the essence of faith.

"We indorse the President's view of our international obligations and his firm stand against reservations designed to cut to pieces the vital provisions of the Versailles Treaty, and we commend the Democrats in Congress for voting against resolutions for separate peace which would disgrace the nation. We advocate the immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity; but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates. Only by doing this may we retrieve the reputation of this nation among the powers of the earth and recover the moral leadership which President Wilson won and which Republican

politicians at Washington sacrificed. Only by doing this may we hope to aid effectively in the restoration of order throughout the world and to take the place which we should assume in the front rank of spiritual, commercial, and industrial advancement.

"We reject as utterly vain, if not vicious, the Republican assumption that ratification of the treaty and membership in the League of Nations would in any way impair the integrity or independence of our country. The fact that the covenant has been entered into by 29 nations, all as jealous of their independence as we are of ours, is a sufficient refutation of such charge. The President repeatedly has declared, and this convention reaffirms, that all our duties and obligations as a member of the League must be fulfilled in strict conformity with the Constitution of the United States, embodied in which is the fundamental requirement of declaratory action by the Congress before this nation may become a participant in any war."

CANDIDATE COX'S ATTITUDE

At the dinner of the Democrats of the country, held in Washington last winter, on what is known as Jackson Day, Governor Cox said:

"When soldiers were finally returning to their homes, when kingdoms builded in policy and domain out of the ruins of blasted hopes and broken hearts had fallen to pieces from the wrath of time, and millions of people needed the balance and strength of a just authority; when nations, large and small, prayed for the sealed compact of justice into which the happiness of generations to come was to be written and pledged; when the whole world, worn and enfeebled by the disasters of war, reached forth its hand for the peaceful fruits of victory, America was made to appear as standing in the way of this holy consummation.

"By the arbitrary exercise of authority, a conspiring band of men seated in the Senate of the United States stood out as the self-appointed spokesmen of their countrymen. The very action which they prevented held the affairs of nations everywhere disjointed and impotent.

"In short, the civilization of the world stood bound and gagged in their control, while their insensate thirst for partisan advantage struck them dumb to the woes of the darkest hour man had ever known.

"And why? In order that the sorrows of mankind could multiply and then in their aggravated form be charged to the man whose chief offense in the reckoning of his partisan critics, consists of the service he has rendered and the gratitude he has won from mankind."

In an article written by him for the *New York Times* and published May 23 he said:

"Some people doubt the enduring quality of this general international scheme. Whether this be true or not, the fact remains that it will justify itself if it does no more than prevent the nations of the earth from arming themselves to the teeth and wasting resource which is necessary to repair the losses of the war.

"No one contends that it is a perfect document, but it is a step in the right direction. It would put the loose ends of civilization together now and do more toward the restoration of normal conditions in six months' time than can the powers of the earth, acting independently, in ten years' time. The Republican senatorial cabal insists that the treaty be Americanized. Suppose that Italy asked that it be Italianized, France that it be Frenchized, Britain that it be Britainized, and so on down the line. The whole thing would result in a perfect travesty.

"The important thing now is to enable the world to go to work, but the beginning must not be on the soft sands of an unsound plan. If this question passes to the next Administration there should be no fetich developed over past differences. Yet at the same time there must be no surrender of vital principle. It may be necessary, if partitions and reparation require changing, to assemble representatives of the people making up the nations of the League, in which event revision may not be so much an affair of diplomats.

But, I repeat, the pressing task is getting started, being careful, however, that we are starting with an instrument worth while and not a mere shadow."

GOVERNOR COX'S PROPOSED RESERVATIONS

In a semi-official interview issued July 9, Governor Cox said that he favored certain illuminating and educational reservations already implicit in the covenant as adopted at Paris, but needing clear statement for the benefit of the American voter. In maintaining these reservations he said that he thought that he would have the support of President Wilson. His suggestions are these:

"First. That the United States enter into the League of Nations with the definite understanding that its purpose is world-wide peace, and not in any sense an alliance with foreign powers, and that this understanding be expressed in such a way that the United States will be in a position to withdraw at the first evidence of bad faith on the part of any member nation.

"Second. That article 10 be accepted with the distinct understanding, when the pact is entered into, that the limits of the Constitution and the powers it confers upon Congress to declare war always to be considered part of the agreement."

RUSSIA AND THE POWERS

After a period of considerable vacillation, with varying statements issuing from the Department of State, the United States has decided, within certain carefully prescribed limits, to permit its citizens to open trade with Russia. The action nominally has been taken quite independently of the position of Great Britain or France, but that it is part of a concerted movement is now clear. It is quite in harmony with the British theory that a time has come at least for square facing of facts and accepting the inevitable. Else why the negotiations in London with Krassin, the commissioner of the Russian Soviet government, in which Lloyd-George and Lord Curzon participated for more than a week, and which terminated with Krassin's return to Moscow to discuss the British terms?

On Krassin's return, July 12, with tentative assent to the British terms, debate on the matter began in the House of Commons, and Mr. Bonar Law, on the 14th, made the official statement of the situation, including the problem of setting up an armistice in the war between Russia and Poland, which was giving the Allied Powers and Supreme Council much worry at the time. Mr. Bonar Law said that the British note to the Soviet government read thus:

"That an immediate armistice be signed between Poland and Soviet Russia under which hostilities shall be suspended. That the terms of this armistice provide, on the one hand, that the Polish army shall immediately withdraw to the lines provisionally laid down last year by the peace conference as to the eastern boundary to which Poland is entitled to establish a Polish administration.

"On the other hand, the armistice should provide that the army of Soviet Russia should stand at a distance of fifty kilometers east of this line. In eastern Galicia each army will stand on the line they occupy at the date of the signature of the armistice.

"That as soon as possible thereafter a conference, sitting under the auspices of the peace conference, shall assemble in London, to be attended by representatives of Soviet Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Lettonia, and Finland, with the object of negotiating a final peace between Russia and its neighboring States. Representatives of eastern Galicia also would be invited to London to state their case.

"For the purpose of this conference Great Britain will

place no restrictions on the representatives which Russia may nominate, provided they undertake while in Great Britain not to interfere in politics or the internal affairs of the British Empire or in propaganda."

The note said the armistice with General Wrangel should be on the basis that Wrangel retire immediately to the Crimea, and that during the armistice this must be a neutral zone. Wrangel would be invited to London to discuss the future of his troops and of the refugees under his protection, but would not be a member of the conference.

"If, therefore, Soviet Russia, despite its repeated declarations, will not be content with the withdrawal of the Polish army on the condition of a mutual armistice, but intends to take action hostile to Poland in Poland's own territory, the British Government and its allies will feel bound to assist the Polish nation to defend its existence with all means at their disposal."

The Department of State, in its official statement of July 7, said:

"The restrictions which have heretofore stood in the way of trade and communication with Soviet Russia were today removed by action of the Department of State. Such of these restrictions, however, as pertain to the shipment of materials susceptible of immediate use for war purposes will, for the present at least, be maintained.

"Political recognition, present or future, of any Russian authority exercising or claiming to exercise governmental functions is neither granted nor implied by this action. It should be emphasized, moreover, that individuals or corporations availing themselves of the present opportunity to trade with Russia will do so on their own responsibility and at their own risk. The assistance which the United States can normally extend to its citizens who engage in trade or travel in some foreign country whose government is recognized by the United States cannot be looked for in the present case, since there is no official or representative Russian authority with which this government can maintain those relations usually subsisting between nations.

"The action which the United States is now taking in no wise constitutes a recognition of the validity of industrial or commercial concessions granted by any existing Russian authority. American citizens availing themselves of the present relaxation of restrictions are warned against the risks incident to the acceptance of commodities or other values, the title to which may later be brought into question.

"The situation which at present prevails, relative to travel from or to Russia, will be unaffected by the removal of trade restrictions. Passports for Russia cannot be issued, nor will any change be made in the visa regulations now in force.

"Since it is not desirable at this time to undertake negotiations with the Soviet postal authorities, the Post-office Department will be unable to accept mail from or to Soviet Russia. There has never been any parcel-post connection between the United States and Russia, and this mode of forwarding goods is, therefore, unavailable."

Explaining this order, the Department added:

"While the indications are that Russia has but a small quantity of raw material available for export, that the purchasing power of Russia is very limited, and that for these reasons there will not be any considerable trade, if any, with Russia, this government, however, does not feel that the law-abiding people in Russia should be deprived of any assistance which can be derived from such trading as may be possible.

"The attitude of the United States toward the recognition of any faction in control of Soviet Russia has not changed. This government is not willing by means of political recognition to lend positive assistance to a faction whose disregard of the principles of democracy is evidenced at home by the maintenance of a minority despotism and abroad by an insidious campaign of propaganda to subvert popular governmental institutions expressive of the will of the majority."

A QUICK REVERSAL OF ATTITUDE

That the Department of State has not been of this mind long is shown by the text of the following message from